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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The Necessity of Peace

THE WORLD has lived through another year of dread and danger. And looking forward into 1962, grimly, we can see for the new year at best only more of the same.

Darkest of all the shadows before us, it goes without saying, is that of The Bomb, which makes the holocaust of death and destruction either possible or probable for 1962, according to the statistician one listens to. There are other ills that beset the world and threaten its peace, of course, ills that in normal times would be thought to make up more than a sufficiency of woe. Unfortunately, these are not normal times.

There is the seething continent of Africa, ready to erupt into riot and war at half-a-dozen points. There are the emergent nations in Asia as well, angrily smashing the fetters of colonialism and driven to the extremes of irresponsible, rampant nationalism by the deadly combination of weakness and pride. Correspondingly, there are the fading colonial powers, sullen and tormented by the loss of national grandeur, and ready for almost any desperate attempt to restore the national pride. With all this, there is the steady decline in the strength and usefulness of the U.N. as an instrument of peace.

Even apart from the violence and hatred which will disfigure the face of 1962, however, there will be miseries enough: the silent suffering of millions who are trapped in the modern slavery of totalitarian statism; the agonies of the poor in lands ravaged by famine and disease. Even in the more "advanced" countries, including our incredibly prosperous United States, there are millions who have not been touched by the wave of affluence, who go to bed hungry, live in squalor, can find no place in our glittering technological society. And beyond these cruel offenses against the ideal of social justice is the still-unresolved, scandalous system of racism, round the world and here in America.

Still, somber as such a catalogue may be, its horror pales beside the constant, overarching threat of nuclear cataclysm. The West, and this nation as leader of the West, seems paralyzed by the awful dilemma of our present situation. On the level of expediency alone, we are relying for protection on a "deterrent" which will only probably deter, on a "balance of terror" which in the nature of things can and must shift, on a system of increasing risk which can hardly fail, sooner or later, to result in the unspeakable "accident." And this is not to mention the moral poison we are trying to digest as we commit ourselves to a strategy of murder or the threat of murder to countless millions of innocents.

The other horn of the dilemma is that we seem to have no alternative to our reliance on the nuclear deterrent. The risk in this system is appalling, but there is at least the possibility that total nuclear war may be averted, that time may be gained to devise other and better defenses. Unilateral disarmament can be said to involve no risk at all: it would undoubtedly result in world domination by Communism, the cruelty and inhumanity of which has been demonstrated over and over again, at least for those who do not deceive themselves.

CONTINUED reliance on the nuclear deterrent, then, will almost certainly end in the unimaginable horror of total nuclear war. But unilaterally abandoning our deterrent will even more certainly end in victory for the Communist system and the defeat of all we believe in.

What to do? Obviously a problem of this enormity can not be dealt with by the mere recital of a few magic words. But this much can be said: when the danger of war poses such utterly disastrous alternatives for the world, it seems clear that in the nuclear age war and the threat of war have become intolerable. There must be disarmament, international agreement and international control. We can no longer say that we wish peace, seek peace, hope

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or peace. The condition now is that we must have eace.

Consider the mobilization of this nation during Vorld War II, when every man, woman and child ras dedicated to the single, all-consuming idea of ictory; when women and girls poured into our fac-ories; when dollar-a-year men flocked to serve in Vashington; when those who could give nothing lse gave their blood, a pint every three months. Recall our nation's leaders then. They did not ope for victory and wait for the tide to turn. With he people of the nation, they forged the very in-truments of victory.

Peace, disarmament, international agreement will ot be stumbled on. There will not be, one day, a reak in the clouds, and behold, peace will be efore us! As there was mobilization for war, so nust there be mobilization for peace. As the nation's eaders, under duress, forged the instruments of ictory in war, so must they forge the instruments f victory in peace.

This is our plea to President Kennedy for 1962, hat he accept the urgency, the literal necessity, of eace; that he and his Administration act instead f responding to actions; that he and they initiate, xperiment; that they be content with nothing less han victory in the work for peace.

Mr. Kennedy's first year was a disappointment to nany. The negative, wait-and-see attitude that obbled the Administration of President Eisen-ower seemed still to prevail, so much so that there ave been jokes about the third Eisenhower Ad-ministration. For 1962, let the counsel of Mr. Micaw-er be rejected, for Mr. Micawber was wrong. Prob-ems do not solve themselves, and the only thing hat will turn up now—without our utmost efforts, nd the grace of God—is just disaster.

Some First Answers

JUST LAST week we wondered aloud about the vigor with which the Administration would push its domestic programs in the second session of Congress. Like many others, we have some questions which only time can answer. We don't question what the Administration would like; we only question—because of its diffidence in the first session—whether it will give the attention to its domestic programs which it is certain to give to the Trade Agreements bill.

Two events in the past week provided the glimmer of some answers. The first was a report that President Kennedy has decided to hold off issuing, for some unspecified length of time, the long-pending executive order which would ban racial discrimination in Federal housing programs. The reported reasons, which were vague, seemed to come down to the danger of losing Southern support on the Trade Agreements bill. This is as plausible a reason as any. It is also a disheartening one. Our question last week turned on the prospects for a civil rights bill. It is hard not to see the dormant executive order as a depressing first answer.

But there was some sunshine. It came in the form of an announcement by Wilbur J. Cohen, Assistant Secretary for Legislation, that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has set up a task force to gather data and ideas on medical care for the aged under Social Security. While a task force of this sort is not the same as a Congressional battle, the public announcement of its formation was meant apparently to signal the Administration's determination to engage in one when the time comes.

Since the Congressional legislative game has not started, we can hardly tote up the score yet. So we will continue to hope (even as the vital executive order gathers dust) that we'll get something better than the tie score of the first session. Hope, after all, is a virtue.

To and from Downtown

NEW YORKERS bent on getting to and from their jobs have a lot more to worry about than the periodic tie-up scares whereby Mr. Quill bulls through his transport workers' pay raises. Congestion on the streets of the nation's largest metropolis is insufferable, exhaust fumes choking and parking space increasingly inacessible. Highway approaches to the city are far from adequate for week-end and rush-hour traffic; suburban rail service continues to diminish in quantity and decline in quality. As is the case in many large American cities, an integrated new metropolitan transit system is a crying need.

Most large cities have their own peculiar traffic problems as well as the common complaints just noted. The experts who have been studying the Philadelphia area have developed four possible transit plans, any one of which they find a sweeping improvement over the present piecemeal method of tackling transport crises as they arise on an *ad hoc* basis.

Some of these Philadelphia projections extend twenty-five years into the future, of which they present a striking glimpse. One plan hinges on automated freeways along which autos would travel at terrific speeds—almost bumper to bumper, yet still safely spaced. This would mean that fewer lanes on fewer freeways could provide greater capacity

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transport. Another of these alternatives would concentrate on high-speed automated rail lines linked to a network of auto feeder roads.

One of the most intriguing aspects of this grand strategy of transit planning is the very mathematics of it. According to one equation, a single lane of buses supplies as much transportation as four lanes of private automobiles. Again, one track of rail transit can handle as many passengers as twenty express highway lanes jammed with private cars. Chicago has done a lot to revive commuter train service recently. According to a survey in *U.S. News*, a single track of city rapid transit there can carry as many as 33,000 persons past a certain point in an hour. To do the same by auto would take four four-lane highways.

Los Angeles, perhaps more than any other large American city, has placed its trust in more and wider auto freeways. With many other metropolitan centers across the land, it has become increasingly disillusioned. The part that so much traffic plays in causing the notorious smog, the inordinate valuable downtown space utilized for parking and the chronic congestion both on radial highways and city streets lead to mounting dissatisfaction. Modern rail transport would appear to supply the principal solution for many traffic-congested cities, although the commuter who, despite all hazards, insists on driving his own car will not be easy to win over.

One of the nation's most neglected public services clearly is metropolitan transit. It is a place where vast new facilities are greatly needed. The setting up of new city transportation systems would serve a two-fold purpose, as they would provide many jobs to make up for some of the displacement caused by automation.

Actions Which Speak Louder

TWO WEEKS ago in these pages, Douglas Hyde quoted a Latin American bishop as saying, "There is not a bishop in all Latin America today who does not stand four-square behind land reform." Like others, perhaps—including Mr. Hyde—we were just a little bit skeptical of this sweeping claim. It seemed much too good to be true; a grand hope to be sure but improbable as a statement of fact.

Our skepticism is now beginning to vanish. As if to confound the doubters, the bishops of Chile have announced the establishment of a committee to prepare plans for the sale of Church agricultural lands to rural families. It is difficult to imagine a more direct way of supporting government land reform plans. We can only express our respect for the Chilean bishops for choosing such a magnificer bold way of expressing that support. Stating the desire to cooperate with the Chilean governmen "not only by teaching the fundamental doctrine b also by giving concrete example," the bisho stressed as well their willingness to bear the fina cial sacrifices involved.

The decision of the Chilean bishops is significa for many reasons, only one of which is their dr matic support of land reform. First of all, it is a explicit recognition of the necessity that the Churc do something more than state social principles an issue moral exhortations. The Church's actions, the clearly imply, count for as much as or more than i words. Secondly, by their action, the bishops hav pointed out that the Church must be willing t suffer some temporal loss for the sake of the con mon good. It is daring indeed for a poor Lati American Church to relinquish a source of incom Thirdly, we would guess, the bishops' action will n please many wealthy Catholic landowners; who, u less they are a different breed in Chile, probabl see land reform as another Communist plot.

The second point merits special attention. It h often seemed to us that, while the Church is quic to speak out against social evils, it is less willing o the local level to risk some temporal advantage t see the evils remedied. Very often, for instance, i our own South the Church has spoken against raci segregation. Very rarely, however, has the Churc been willing, in a real show-down, to risk its sha of state funds to make integration a reality in Cath olic schools. New Orleans is a prominent case i point. To this day, Catholic grammar schools a not integrated in that city. If the reports are a curate, the main reason is the threat that the sta legislature would pass restrictive laws against th schools; would, even more, stop the flow of vit financial aid. The schools or integration? Confro tation or prudence? Prudence.

But perhaps we are letting our minds wander t far from the Chilean bishops. Perhaps too we a overly enthusiastic and surprised by their gran deed. For all we know the Catholics of Chile ma accept the bishops' decision as a perfectly natur one, just the kind of thing the Church would do i such a situation: not to count the cost but to plung ahead to make abstract social principles concre realities. If so, we stand in awe of them.

Meanwhile, we will be content to commend th Chilean bishops for their plan. It shows, we believ the other side of the prudence coin: the side whic has printed on it the value of running worldly risk for spiritual gain, the side which says that huma values mean more than sources of income. It is side worth looking at; and it can be used anywher

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Tshombe and the U.N.

THERE IS, of course, something anomalous about the idea of an organization dedicated to world peace busily engaged in waging war, as United Nations forces have been doing in the Congo. But it is our time which is out of joint and not the U.N., I think; sometimes it is necessary to use force in order to achieve peace.

The need to turn to war in the name of peace was easier to see in Korea, though. There the Communists were clearly guilty of aggression, and our determination to resist had a classic note of international morality about it. But the Congo situation is much less clear-cut, and I think this is why many people have been troubled about U.N. actions there.

I include myself among this number. Given the state of the world, the U.N. can do only so much. If it tries to move too fast, it risks signing its own death warrant. And as far as the Congo goes, the lack of agreement among the non-Communist nations makes effective action very difficult.

Then too I am enough of a conservative to worry if statesmen seem to be ignoring the reality of ethnic and tribal and national loyalties. The future of world peace demands less emphasis on national sovereignty and more on the concept of the world community of nations and a rule of international law. But this state of affairs must come from natural development and organic growth; it will not be accomplished by fiat, especially by Western fiat to people in once-colonial lands like the Congo.

I was concerned, then, at the suggestion that top U.N. officials were intent on drawing tidy lines on the map of the Congo, without regard for the traditions of the people involved. And I was worried about what sometimes seemed a lack of concern about the pro-Soviet Antoine Gizenga and an almost total preoccupation with bringing Katanga's President Moise Tshombe into line. In short, I originally shared many of the fears that seem to be motivating Senator Thomas Dodd and the Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters. Yet in considering the matter I have come to quite different conclusions.

Part of our present problem in areas like the Congo comes from the fact that the colonial occupying powers were guilty of precisely what the U.N. is accused of—drawing boundary lines arbitrarily, without regard for the people's history or the region's traditions. Given the circumstances that exist, a not-too-rigid provincial federation under a central Congolese government of the kind the U.N. is urging on Moise Tshombe seems the best hope for the region's peace and development. It was, after all, only the U.N. presence which prevented the Congo from becoming the site of an all-out U.S.-Soviet struggle, and establishment of various small states at this point would only invite further big-power intervention—a move that would hurt rather than help the Congolese.

As Marguerite Higgins of the N.Y. *Herald-Tribune* has pointed out, it is "the mythology about President Tshombe . . . [that] is the basis for most of the moral indignation that has been mustered . . ." Thus in the course of calling U.S. policy in the Congo the worst foreign policy blunder since Cuba, former Vice President Richard M. Nixon lauded Moise Tshombe as "the educated, Christian anti-Communist head of Katanga." Maybe so, but by now it should be obvious even to his most devoted friends that not all the faults are on the other side.

Tshombe has shown himself a most difficult man to deal with. He made half a dozen agreements with the central government, then broke them all. He insisted on retaining white mercenaries and provoked the U.N. attack on him by setting up roadblocks to cut U.N. lines of communication. Internally, his supporters have been engaged in bloody acts of violence against their traditional tribal enemies, the Balubas. Furthermore, as Miss Higgins notes, Tshombe may be an anti-Communist, but as long ago as last July, he appealed for Soviet assistance, precisely at a time when the U.N. was trying desperately to keep the Congo from being turned into a bloody battleground in the cold war.

As for Antoine Gizenga, reputed political heir of the late Patrice Lumumba, he is not cooperating with the central government, and he seems to be the man the Soviets would use as their puppet if that were possible. But he has not attacked U.N. forces nor made an open break with the central government, and his strength and popularity seem to be evaporating fast. The U.N. belief that he will pose no real threat once Tshombe is dealt with seems to have some foundation.

On balance, then, I would support our policy on the Congo as the best of the none-too-attractive alternatives open to us. At the same time I can see why men of good will might feel strongly in the other direction. But I have little sympathy with the reaction in Belgium, where anti-U.S. sentiment is running high.

The present situation in the Congo may be confused, but the root cause of our difficulties stands out quite clearly, and this is that during Belgium's stewardship there was an abysmal failure to prepare the Congolese people for self-government. Given this fact, what is called for in Brussels now is discreet silence, not anti-American demonstrations.

JAMES O'GARA

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The Mythology of Southern Race Laws

JAMES J. GRAHAM

DURING the Freedom-Rider disturbances in Montgomery, Alabama's Governor John Patterson said of the victims of the mob: "These agitators have come here to violate the laws and customs of our people." Patterson thus evoked the myth of the Suffering South, once again defending against Northern aggression racial laws said to have evolved in a benign and gradual manner as part of the folkways of that region. Unfortunately for Southern politicians, the myth has no historical basis whatsoever.

In fact, the Jim Crow laws, the bulwark of segregation in the South, did not evolve at all, nor did they spring into existence with the end of Reconstruction in 1877. The Jim Crow laws were arbitrarily enacted by state legislatures during the period 1890-1920, primarily for reasons of political expediency.

Non-Southerners, of course, as Governor Patterson *et al.*, have often reminded them, have committed their own share of crimes against the Negro, but perhaps the greatest of these was the passive acquiescence of the nation in the systematic deprivation of the Negro's political, social and economic rights by the dominant white majority in the South during the 1890's and for some years thereafter. Indeed this acquiescence was so complete that until about 1930 there was no serious agitation to disturb the racial status quo. The breakthrough finally came when the American Negro, through the NAACP, decided to take the initiative himself.

Today, accustomed to the effects of six decades of almost absolute segregation in the South, many observers, especially lawyers, tend to be optimistic as limited advances are made in desegregating schools, libraries, golf courses, etc. Some sincere molders of opinion have even suggested that the pace may be too fast. But if the South had rejected white supremacy as a legal theory in 1890, our present ills would never have come about.

Travelers to the South in the decade after the withdrawal of the last of the Federal troops in 1877 returned with glowing reports of the good fellowship they had found there between the races. Many Northern Negroes, expecting the worst, experienced no more discrimination in the South than at home.

During this period, racial agitators were certainly active, and eventually they succeeded in their goals. But until they did so, the South experienced a hiatus between slavery-war-Reconstruction and the onset of Jim Crow legislation, now recognized as a period of relaxed racial tensions. There is strong evidence that close, personal (and licit) relations between whites and blacks were not uncommon. Such relationships even existed to a certain extent during slavery, particularly between the master and his family and the household servants. Ironically, in support of the theory that white Southerners of good will know the Negro better and love him more, some "liberal" Northern travelers around 1890 documented their disgust at the sight of a Negro woman nursing a white child at her breast.

IT MAY be argued, of course, that such relationships proved no feelings of equality but arose merely as a natural outcome of close contacts among men of all races when not separated by artificial legal barriers. Nevertheless, there is some historical evidence of a tendency on the part of white Southerners, prior to the advent of Jim Crow, to give deference to educated and/or "quality" Negroes.

William Faulkner's account in *Intruder in the Dust* of a Negro who had inherited a certain status from his white father cannot be entirely fictional. There is also the astounding real-life story of an Irish-born planter who educated his mulatto offspring for the Roman Catholic priesthood, in Rome. James Healey, the eldest, eventually became the first bishop of the Portland, Maine diocese in 1875. His brother, Sherwood, succeeded James Healey as a pastor of a parish in Boston; and Patrick, a Jesuit, became President of Georgetown University.

All three were known to be Negroes. The success of the Healey brothers lends weight to the possibility that the repression of the Negro in the South has had psychological repercussions in the rest of the country. As progressive as the Church has been on the race question, it is doubtful if the Healeys would have achieved the same eminence after 1900.

In the 1870's Southern Democratic governors like

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Wade Hampton of South Carolina of their own volition continued to appoint qualified Negroes to positions of some importance in their administrations, and in 1885 Virginia still had some Negro members in its legislature. Today it seems almost incredible that Mississippi sent two Negroes to the United States Senate during the 1870's. Though both were Republicans, they must have enjoyed the support of some white Democrats. Hiram Rhodes Revels, who succeeded Jeff Davis in office, became disillusioned with Radical Republicanism in 1877 and joined the Democrats to oust his own party from power.

Revel's successor, Blanche K. Bruce, served with the Confederate hero, Lucius Q. Lamar. A graduate of Oberlin College, Bruce was a visionary who fought for decent treatment for Indians as well as Negroes, against the Chinese Exclusion Act, and on behalf of public conservation projects. Bruce, like Revels, also supported the Democrats in 1877. Both men lived long enough afterwards to taste the bitter fruit of that act of statesmanship.

Except for perhaps Mississippi and Alabama, the period of suppression did not commence in most of the Southern states until ten or twelve years after the Democrats returned to power. Prior to 1899, only three states required or authorized Jim Crow waiting rooms in railroad stations. By 1910, however, laws had been enacted requiring separation of the races in virtually all aspects of railroad travel in the South. In 1897 the Charleston *News and Courier* protested editorially against a proposed statute for South Carolina calling for racially segregated trolley cars. The newspaper asked instead for segregation based on quality, first class cars for first class passengers, of whatever race. The editorial also warned that the measure could lead to such absurdities as Jim Crow Bibles in court rooms, and so on.

George Washington Cable, himself a Confederate war veteran and a native of Louisiana, risked his reputation as one of the most popular writers of the day in a vain attempt to persuade his confreres of the evils of white supremacy. Cable lectured at the universities of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and elsewhere against the onset of Jim Crow legislation. To illustrate the absurdities of a separation based on race rather than class or quality, Cable often told his audience of seeing a neat, well-dressed young colored woman forced to ride in a Jim Crow railroad car with a crew of perspiring Negro convicts enroute to serve in a chain gang.

Cable, who knew better, also disagreed with the quiet optimism of Booker T. Washington, who encouraged his race to elevate themselves culturally and economically, and political equality would follow. In 1884, Cable also answered an argument heard often even today: "[the racist] forbids the Freedman to go into the water until he is satisfied that [the Freedman] knows how to swim and for fear he should learn, hangs millstones about his neck."

Unfortunately, Cable, Wade Hampton and the other Southern moderates did not prevail. In time, a mad logic drove the entire South to complete a crazy-quilt pattern of legislation designed to separate the races at every conceivable point of contact. Atlanta one day did begin to use Jim Crow Bibles in its courtrooms. Oklahoma eventually required segregated telephone booths and so on. Where the legislatures might have overlooked a certain activity, custom soon took the place of law.

There have been limits, however. Air travel, probably because of its global nature, has defied the racist imagination. In addition, both groups may usually ride together on the same escalators and elevators. This last provided the basis for Harry Golden's tongue-in-cheek proposal for "vertical integration" as an answer to the problem.

Probably the disgusting ultimate in segregated facilities, mainly because of the "sophisticates" involved, concerned the treatment accorded to a Negro graduate law student by the University of Arkansas. Admitted by order of a Federal Court, the student was at first assigned to a class by himself in the basement, and then for a while was seated in the corner of a regular classroom with a railing around him!

SUPPRESSION of the Negro's political rights accompanied Jim Crow legislation. The United States Supreme Court, in 1898, while affirming the principles of equality contained in the Fourteenth Amendment, held a Mississippi statute constitutional on its face, though its obvious purpose was to disenfranchise the Negro. Other states, emulating Mississippi, soon adopted property and literacy qualifications for voting, poll taxes, requirements that one's grandfather must have been a registered voter, and, most effective of all, the "whites-only" primary.

Since the Jim Crow laws have never made any exceptions for talented Negroes, are in fact designed to keep even a Ralph Bunche "in his place," and since the responsibility for enforcing this code has been entrusted to every white man as policeman, the spiritual and economic damage that has resulted from this system is almost too staggering to catalogue. Consider only that as late as 1956 the Negro vote in the South was twenty-five per cent of its potential as compared to sixty-five for whites. Negro indifferentism did not, at least in the beginning, account to any significant extent for the disparity. In 1896 Louisiana, for example, had over 130,000 registered Negro voters; in 1904, Louisiana had about 1,500. Prior to 1944, when the Supreme Court finally invalidated the "whites only" primary, not a single Negro had held public office in that region in this century.

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In the economic order, there is evidence that a greater proportion of skilled craftsmen were Negroes a hundred years ago than today. According to Gunnar Myrdal, slaves and freedmen, as the result of plantation needs, once held a virtual monopoly on skilled occupations but gradually lost it as the result of post-bellum anti-Negro sentiment and economics. In comparatively new occupations like electrical work, Negroes never managed to get a foothold.

There are, of course, countless other examples of resultant discrimination. Perhaps among the more poignant and least publicized are the indirect limitations imposed upon Negro writers and actors by the fact of segregation. The arts must, as a general rule, be true to life, and the artist must be true to his environment. Since American societies place the Negro in a ghetto, the Negro writer or actor necessarily finds his creative horizons bounded by the segregated nature of his own experience. Some of the bitterness of a James Baldwin or Richard Wright must surely have its origin in this artistic frustration.

As to the exact cause of the triumph of white supremacy around 1900, historians hold differing opinions. But this much is certain. Racist sentiment in a region which had only recently sanctioned slavery was quite strong, and even liberal Southerners deplored the excesses of Reconstruction. However, these sentiments did not dominate political thinking in the South until the Populist party, which had wooed the poor of both races with an appeal to class prejudice, joined forces with the old-line Democrats and the racists. This union occurred during an agricultural depression and at a time when both parties were literally engaged in the wholesale purchase of the votes of uninformed and illiterate masses of Negroes. Paradoxically, then, the culprits joined forces to rise to power on promises of civic reform which included the disenfranchisement of the Negro! The new coalition also crushed the few pockets of Republican Party power and forged the one-party monolith which has survived in the Deep South to the present day.

Liberal Southern commentators like Hodding Carter, James McBride Dabbs, Harry Ashmore and C. Vann Woodward are perhaps even more cynical than their Northern counterparts about the motives or sincerity of the Southern politician. Dabbs has suggested in his book *The Southern Heritage* that many elected officials perpetuate themselves in office by keeping the race issue alive. "If the racial problem should be resolved," said Dabbs, "the political forces of the South would re-align themselves with the political forces of the nation."

DURING the period of suppression, 1890-1920, non-Southerners were at best indifferent to events occurring below the Mason-Dixon line. The country's mood at that time called for a reconciliation of differences between North and South and the healing of war wounds. The freed Negro, as a living reminder of one of the vital issues of the Civil War, became the sacrificial offering at the banquets celebrating the peace. Then, too, strange as it may seem today, some influential Northern newspapers proposed during and after the Spanish-American War that since we could not grant full citizenship rights to the conquered Filipinos and Cubans, logic demanded that the nation acquiesce in the South's treatment of its "primitive Negro population"!

It remained, however, for the United States Supreme Court to give legal impetus to Jim Crow legislation in 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson.* The Court upheld as constitutional a Louisiana statute which required intrastate railroad companies to provide "separate but equal" accommodations for passengers of both races. The Court (anticipating President Eisenhower?) declared that social prejudices cannot be overcome by legislation. The Fourteenth Amendment, said the Court, protects only the political rights of citizens, such as the right to serve on juries, as opposed to purely social rights or privileges.

Significantly, perhaps, since many jurists believe that decisions of the nation's highest Court generally reflect national sentiments, the majority in *Plessy* cited a number of state court and District of Columbia decisions. The Louisiana statute, said the court, was no more obnoxious to the Fourteenth Amendment than an Indiana statute banning interracial marriage or a New York Court of Appeals decision permitting a "separate but equal" school in Brooklyn!

The *Plessy* Court conceded that some inconveniences might befall Negro travelers because state laws differed in defining "Negro." For example, North Carolina considered a person Negro if his or her features evidenced any admixture of white and Negro blood; in Ohio, a preponderance of Negro blood was the test; and in Virginia, to be classified Caucasian a man had to be less than one-quarter Negro. (The unsuccessful Petitioner in the case, by the way, was "seven-eighths Caucasian and one-eighth African, the mixture not discernible")

Of course, the *Plessy* majority noted that any such exercise by the state of its police power must be reasonable and enacted in good faith for the public good. The

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judges, shutting their eyes to a tradition of white domination in the South, pretended, perhaps, that they had before them laws separating equally proud and powerful tribes into respective spheres of influence.

Though the *Plessy* decision dealt only with railroad segregation, the doctrine of "separate but equal" soon became the basis for Jim Crow laws applicable to areas ranging from lavatories to amusement parks. Despite the lack of any serious agitation for civil rights legislation, the South for no apparent reason except spite and/or political expediency multiplied its segregation laws as the years advanced.

IT WAS not until about 1930 that the NAACP began its long, uphill battle in the courts. The NAACP at first centered its legal attack upon the lack of equality in educational facilities, particularly on the graduate school level. The theory was that a state would capitulate to admit a Negro rather than build a separate law school for him.

The success of the NAACP's campaign persuaded some Southern governors to take desparate spending measures in an attempt to narrow the disparity in "separate but equal" facilities (a 1954 survey shows that Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas had no state park facilities for Negroes though each state provided 7,000, 11,000 and 58,000 such facilities, respectively, for whites).

About 1950, however, the NAACP decided to attack the doctrine itself. The result, of course, was *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* in 1954 which for all practical purposes overruled the *Plessy* decision and declared that "separate" was inherently unequal. In retrospect, it seems curious that Chief Justice Earl Warren's decision drew so much criticism from so many jurists, primarily because he cited numerous sociological and psychological data instead of legal precedents. Events since 1954 have indicated that *Brown* may be only the beginning of a long, tortuous legal struggle to turn the clock back to 1890 when Jim Crow legislation began. At least two generations of Southern whites have known no other system. To yield now, their leaders seem to be saying, would be to admit what Dwight McDonald has called one of the few instances in history of a truly collective guilt among an entire people.

Though non-Southerners are no longer complacent about civil rights, over fifty years of passive acquiescence in the racial status quo have developed a national insistence on limited advances in this field. The fact that even the Administration of President Kennedy relies so heavily on the argument that segregation hurts the American image abroad leads one to conclude that Americans have not yet acquired, in Professor Edmond Cahn's phrase, "a sense of injustice," about civil rights.

What else can explain the widespread practice of business and fraternal groups, professing adherence to democratic principles, to hold their conventions in the Deep South? The Knights of Columbus, for example, held their 1960 annual convention in segregated Atlanta. It must have been discouraging to non-Caucasian Knights to read in their monthly magazine *Columbia* greetings from Governor Vanderventer, who has not moved far from his foolish campaign promise that Negro children would enter white schools in Georgia only "over my dead body."

Most disheartening of all to those whites and Negroes willing to risk bodily harm in the more dramatic forms of protest (sit-ins, boycotts, Freedom Rides, etc.) may be the lack of moral indignation among their fellow-citizens at the inflammatory utterances of Southern politicians which clearly incite mob-violence. Indeed, the American public seems to react with apathy to activities in the matter of race which would be considered criminal in any other sphere.

Among civilized peoples, the ultimate in anarchy results when the police cannot or will not maintain order. Compare, for example, the Montgomery, Alabama view of proper law enforcement with the firm rejection by New York City's police commissioner of any suggestion that the city police force could not protect the highly unpopular leader of the American Nazi Party.

BUT THE most cogent explanation for the blasé attitude of white Americans towards Southern demagogues remains a simple one. The existence of Jim Crow laws for over half a century has coated them with a veneer of respectability so that the casual observer may not realize that such laws were unjust and malicious in their conception, which was not long ago at all. Ironically, Southern orators for some years to come will be able to generate no little sympathy with their posture of defending the "customs and laws of our [white] people!"

What has happened since 1896 was bitterly prophesied, in the following language, by Justice John Marshal Harlan, the lone dissenter in *Plessy v. Ferguson*: " . . . the present decision will stimulate aggressions more or less brutal and irritating upon the . . . rights of colored citizens . . . will encourage the belief that it is possible for the states to defeat the beneficent purposes [of the Fourteenth Amendment]. The destinies of the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law. What can more certainly arouse race hate . . . [or] create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between the races than state enactments which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored ctizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens?"

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LAURA RANDALL

Yankee Dollars, Latin Discontent

ALTHOUGH much of the recent friction with Latin America is the result of superficial irritations, basic economic problems present even greater difficulties. The drastic quotas against vital Latin American exports, and the impasse reached in almost all cases between the drives of the local Latin American people and the power of the great "capitalist" enterprises so often owned or controlled from the United States, are major sources of friction.

The clashes between what Latin Americans call "the foreign economic interests" and what they regard as their countries' national sovereignty have been frequent and unfortunate in recent years. These clashes have been sharpened by mutual misunderstanding: North American and Latin American concepts of the legal and moral rights involved in property relations differ strikingly, and the two areas expect very different things to happen when a Latin American government nationalizes a foreign-owned enterprise.

Ever since the days of Woodrow Wilson and President Carranza of Mexico, a contrast has frequently been drawn between the "Anglo-Saxon" tradition of property law, which grants sweeping rights to the property owner, and the "Latin" tradition. This tradition, which is traceable through the Spanish crown to ancient Rome, restricts individual property rights to a great extent in the interests of the larger community. In North America, the man who owns the land almost always owns any water, gold, or oil found down to the center of the earth, while the Latin American tradition reserves subsoil rights to the nation.

DIFFICULTIES have almost inevitably arisen when a North American business man, used to the property law and customs of the United States, builds up a productive concern in a Latin American country which, perhaps decades later under radically changed political circumstances, begins to use its latent Roman law powers. Calvin Coolidge, faced with Mexican pressure against United States agricultural and oil interests, declared that "the person and property of a citizen are part of the general domain of the nation even when abroad." Washington has officially retreated from this extreme position, but similar sentiments still stirred much of our business community and press when Castro expropriated North American holdings in Cuba.

LAURA RANDALL recently returned from a year of travel and study in Latin America.

More than forty years ago, President Carranza spoke for Latin America when he said that "property is nothing more than a social function bound up with the prosperity of the state." Property is valid only with the consent of the state, changing when the state changes. Yet the larger foreign interests have maintained their grip, sometimes for decades, in the face of the plainly expressed hostility of several Latin American peoples and the majority parties that speak in their name. In such cases—the rugged days of the United Fruit Company are an example at the tip of any radical orator's tongue—the foreign interest has proved itself to have more power than the host nation, more "sovereignty" within a Latin American country than that country's own government.

Such a state of affairs is regarded by almost all articulate Latin Americans as illegal, an unbearable wound to national and personal pride, and a constant, rankling threat to their national government and national self. It follows that the moment it becomes politically possible, foreign interests must be nationalized to eliminate the threat of domination that they pose to the state.

THE PROBLEM becomes tightly knotted in the many one-crop or one-product countries of Latin America where the foreign-owned interests in sugar, bananas, tin, or oil have dominated the local economies. These enterprises grow crops or extract minerals and export them to North America and Europe. They are often the largest employers in the country and provide the greatest shares of government revenue. Oil, for example, provides Venezuela with 66 percent of its revenue from taxes. Because they are export industries, these enterprises are the leading sources of foreign currencies necessary to finance Latin American economic development.

The profits of the export industries are based on the successful exploitation of local resources. Many Latin Americans therefore believe that when export industries are controlled by foreigners, profits "belonging to the nation" are sent abroad and that the nation's irreplaceable natural resources are dissipated forever in a stranger's interests.

Since profits are large, the foreign interests must have been underpaying local workers who get less than their counterparts in the United States. Even if these wages are above the prevailing rates in the country,

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these "low" salaries are obviously indicative of exploitation.

Whether these beliefs are true or not is less important than the consequent Latin American expectations of what will happen when such a foreign-owned export industry is nationalized. Since exploitative profit has been realized by the former foreign owners, many Latin Americans reason, sufficient wealth must be available in the newly nationalized industry to pay its workers wages much above the national average while simultaneously subsidizing the rest of the local economy and its development. Both are usually attempted so that the newly nationalized industry is transformed into a repository and symbol of national sovereignty. Nor are these increased expenditures dreaded as a serious economic drain in a country already short of funds; rather, there is confidence that by appropriating the profits of foreigners, the government can induce a self-sustaining spiral of increasing wealth.

MEANWHILE, the former owners and their business associates in North America have opposite and insultingly pessimistic expectations. They regard the whole process of nationalization as a vile betrayal by Latin Americans of their pledged word, as the triumph of greed and theft over morality and law, as the inspiration of Communists and probably their work. They presume that Latin Americans are too incompetent to run the industry themselves, and too xenophobic to employ foreign technicians. The businessmen therefore urge or order the technicians to leave. They may also feel that the Commies shouldn't be allowed to get away with *everything*; they therefore arrange, say, a boycott by the world's oil tankers, refineries, and marketers of the newly nationalized Latin American oil.

In contrast to the nationalizing government, the expropriated owners are often in a position to make their expectations a self-fulfilling prophecy. Foreign investments in the newly nationalized industry stop overnight, and may never be resumed. Foreign engineers and technicians go home in droves, and may not be replaced for years. Boycotts by giant foreign monopolies may be harshly effective. The result is a sharply diminished surplus in the newly nationalized industry for any purpose.

Moreover, the purpose which the nationalizing government may well decide to place low on its scale of priorities is the indemnification of the former foreign owners. The latter are then increasingly convinced that they are dealing with thieves, while the Latin American government in turn will have increasing difficulty in making indemnification payments.

THE STRESS and misery that come from the clash of the two sets of ideas about property and expectations about nationalized enterprises are not limited to Latin America or to the last decade. The trials of Mossadegh's Iran after he nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company are a famous case in point. The classic case, and the one that can now be viewed in the longest perspective, was Mexico's struggle to make a go of the oil industry it nationalized in 1938. The chiefly North American oil companies whose Mexican properties were expropriated by President Cardenas resolved to make the experience as painful as possible for Mexico.

Petroleos Mexicanos ("Pemex"), the government oil company, found itself with obsolete equipment and no reserves set aside for replacement. Although profits were no longer sent out of the country, a huge sum was set aside from the earnings of Pemex for the repayment of the former owners if and when they should agree to settle. Because of the insistent Mexican expectation that nationalization would lead to high salaries, Pemex wage scales were soon among the highest in the country—more than twice the national per capita (wage) income during the 1950's. All this left rather little money for investment.

On top of these burdens, Pemex was made to sell oil at frozen low prices as a subsidy to the rest of the economy. This had its share in promoting Mexico's astonishingly rapid industrial growth and rise in living standards since 1940, but it weakened Pemex's finances to a point at which it could not pay for its own expansion; the government had to make special appropriations to the oil industry. Pemex was finally permitted to raise its prices, and hence to balance its budget, in 1959. Thus Mexico's clash with the foreign oil companies resulted in a strained situation that lasted for over twenty years before Pemex could become a rational economic concern.

BOLIVIA, with less wealth and less luck, has fared much worse. Bolivia's revolutionary government nationalized the three great tin mining concerns in October 1952. Not many months later the Korean War ended, and with it the high wartime demand for tin. Tin miners who had been fired for supporting the revolutionary party before the revolution of 1952 were restored to their jobs, but their replacements were not discharged, almost doubling the number of miners. Wages skyrocketed through a system of government-subsidized commissaries for tin miners; if high for Bolivia, the new wages hardly led to magnificent standards of living, even by Latin American standards. And the tin began to run out in the mines.

With plummeting revenues and skyrocketing labor costs, the revolutionary government has been in constant fiscal trouble and inflationary difficulties, from which the "rational" way out would be to fire a large part of the labor force and to close some of the tin mines. But that, of course, is out of the question, be-

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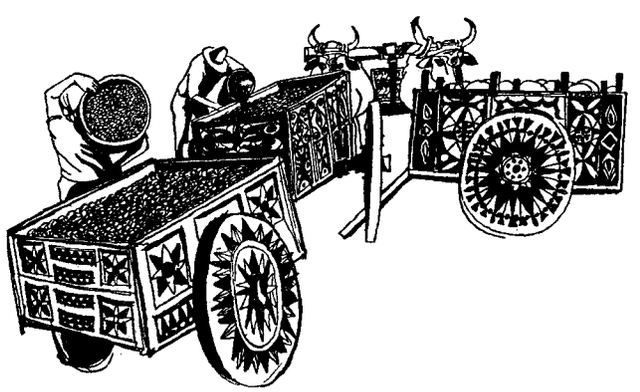
cause of the high expectations of the politically powerful tin miners.

Despite the difficulties attendant on nationalization, it is useless to hope that the expectations and aspirations with respect to its benefits can be changed. A necessary consequence of this is the likelihood that within ten years neither a drop of oil nor a stem of bananas in the Caribbean will belong to North Americans. The consequences of any one-step nationalization will be damaging to both the present owners and the nationalizing governments.

If we have to look forward to more and more frequent misunderstandings and embittered clashes over nationalization like the ones we have experienced from Cardenas to Castro, the chances of inter-American friendship and mutual development are increasingly dismal. Yet if nationalization is inevitable, the unpleasant consequences associated with it are not. In an effort to avoid them, a technique is needed whereby North American assets in Latin America can be turned over to the local governments gradually and peacefully—without their North Americans owners feeling their own moral outlook violated so deeply that they are provoked into a retaliatory strike. One such technique is a plan similar to the following for gradual nationalization with concurrent indemnification.

AT PRESENT, foreign-owned enterprises make payments to the various host governments. There are many forms of taxes: on land, on income, on imports, exports, and many other services and transactions. In addition, large concerns such as oil companies often pay royalties—either fixed or tied to yearly income—for the exploitation of resources not necessarily owned by them. These payments are now in currency or its equivalents. It seems possible that a Latin American government and a North American concern might come to an agreement whereby all, or more probably part of, the yearly payment could be made not in *cash* but in *equity*, perhaps voting stock in the North American concern's local subsidiary.

There are many points of dispute that would slow down negotiations: the value of the subsidiary, the size and rate of the payments, the length of time before the local government takes over 51 per cent of the enterprise, and the innumerable technicalities of law and taxes. The Latin Americans could facilitate the negotiations by passing enabling legislation; it is at least possible for the United States to write its tax law in a manner that would favor such transactions. Given the will, such negotiations could be successful, and each side has two reasons for working up the will.



The North Americans would no longer be in danger of having their properties seized abruptly and humiliatingly with little or no compensation, and the process would be consonant with our business ethic. The Latin Americans would be assured of securing control of their major natural resources, and would be relieved of their fear of international capitalist counter-attack after a sudden nationalization.

IF SUCH transfers could be arranged, other benefits might accrue aside from those that would be foremost in the minds of the negotiators. The North Americans would not be apt to withdraw capital and technicians so rapidly as to damage a concern in which they still had an 80 per cent, 60 per cent or even 40 per cent share. The increasing numbers of Latin American directors and personnel would have years of on-the-job training, and might come to respect some of the North Americans enough not to ease them out the day they get 51 per cent control. Political pressures from the Latin American public to raise wages and use assets to subsidize other sectors of the economy would be yielded to gradually rather than with catastrophic suddenness. After all, the sooner the government has a share in ownership, the sooner will it educate the people to shape their expectations of benefit from nationalization to what is attainable in reality.

During this process, new foreign investment could be directed to politically neutral areas of the economy, most notably light industries such as brewing, soft drink bottling and retail stores. Most important, such prolonged transfer of ownership might promote the kind of communities of interest and institutional relationships that are helpful in forging links between nations, and in soothing antagonisms that arise from other sources—e.g., the inevitable *next* dozen racist incidents against Latin America.

To be sure, everything might turn sour in ways that cannot yet be foreseen. But if the proposals set forth above could be tried successfully in even one instance, the demonstration effect would probably be remarkable. The effort of the United States to secure friendly relations with the peoples of Latin America is going to prove a difficult task. Yet it is a task that would be greatly eased if what looks to be the almost inevitable round of nationalization of our businesses in Latin America is not followed by what has so far been the inevitable round of unpleasant consequences.

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NICHOLAS R. CLIFFORD

Hitler and the Appeasers

IT IS NOT often that scholarly fights between British academicians make news in American papers, even the New York *Times*. But one did so recently. The dispute was between Mr. A. J. P. Taylor and Mr. Hugh Trevor-Roper, two historians who have never shied from controversy. The subject was Mr. Taylor's book, *The Origins of the Second World War;* a book which, when first published in England last April, instigated a public debate in the lively English monthly *Encounter*.

Why the book aroused such violent debate is soon evident. Mr. Taylor was quite obviously looking for an argument—and the equally distinguished Mr. Trevor-Roper was quick to take up the challenge. With the publication of an American edition (*Atheneum. $4.50.*), the fight may now become a transatlantic one. For it is a book which is often brilliant—but with the brilliance of polemic. In developing his arguments, Mr. Taylor is in serious trouble more than once; and it was Mr. Trevor-Roper who quickly and sharply took him to task both on his historical method and his interpretation of the material.

Whatever Mr. Taylor's faults may be, the fact remains that his book is an experiment in historical writing, and its interest here transcends that of the argument. What he claims to have done is to have taken the history of a very recent period and to have examined it with the same coldly rational detachment with which a historian would approach, say, the war of the Polish Succession. In this instance it is an effort to determine whether or not we are ready for a revisionist view of the outbreak of World War II.

CAN we disengage ourselves enough from the 1930's to look at them dispassionately? Hugh Thomas has done a very good job in treating that most emotional of all episodes, the Spanish Civil War. Franco, however, does not lead a great power, and he did not fight in the World War. Mr. Taylor is on even more dangerous ground. Although we made mistakes, we did defeat Hitler. Why should we not continue to think of him as we did while we were fighting him? He is, after all, dead and there seems to be no need for us to reexamine our conception of him, as many had to reexamine their conceptions of, say, Stalin, after he became our ally.

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Only a few years after Versailles western historians began seriously to question earlier thinking on the causes of World War I. In a very short time responsibility for its outbreak had been assigned to Russia, to Serbia, to Austria, to France, even to Britain—to almost every power, in other words, other than Germany, whom the Treaty had blamed. Sixteen years after the defeat of the Axis, however, nobody has challenged the basic view that World War II was caused by Hitler, in concert with his Italian and Japanese partners. He was aided, it is true, by the mistakes of the French and British leaders.

THIS theory goes further. Hitler, it is said, carried out a prepared plan for the domination of Europe, or of Eastern Europe at least, while in the Orient Japan sought to gain control of East Asia. The view was not open to question; we had the evidence. There is the Hossbach Memorandum, of 5 November 1937, in which Hitler set forth his plans for conquest. There is the Tanaka Memorial of 1927 which, even if not genuine, certainly reflected (it is said) the thinking of the Japanese military clique, the men who later created the New Order. Our thinking here has been conditioned by Churchill and those who followed him. The course of events unrolls relentlessly: Manchuria, the Rhineland, the Spanish War, Lukouchia, the Anschluss, Munich and, finally, Poland. At each of these moments can be heard the Cassandra-like warnings of Sir Winston, or (if one is of a different political persuasion) the often similar warnings from the Left. The whole plan is there, we are told, in the pages of *Mein Kampf*.

Now Mr. Taylor asks us to take a fresh look at all this. Did Hitler really work this way? Do *Mein Kampf* and the Hossbach Memorandum really mean anything? Did he actually seek the domination of Europe, or was he simply carrying out a traditional German foreign policy of making his country the greatest power in Europe from her "natural weight?" Did he really plan his moves, or did he in fact only stumble from triumph to triumph, taking advantage of such opportunities as were made for him? And what should we have learned from the failures of the thirties?

Mr. Taylor never directly asks this last question, and of course never directly answers it—few historians would. The question is implicit in his writing, nevertheless, and to Mr. Trevor-Roper, so is the answer. And it is this which makes the book, in his eyes, a positive

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menace. Mr. Taylor, he says, defends Munich as a triumph of British policy, and is therefore arguing in favor of another Munich today. This time Khrushchev would be the beneficiary, and we should recognize his country's "natural weight" in Europe. We should give him what he wants, should disarm unilaterally.

Whether or not one accepts these rather sinister imputations, the question—what should we have learned from the thirties?—makes the book of great interest for the present; and helps explain, presumably, why it is a best-seller in England. As the Berlin crisis continues on its uncertain way, the warning cry of appeasement is being raised again, and in the background there are those who hear the faint drone—is it growing louder?—of the airplane which bore Neville Chamberlain home from Munich, bringing "peace with honor."

"Appeasement" is now defined as "usually signifying a sacrifice of moral principle to avoid aggression." That is all very well, but it must not be forgotten that before 1938 appeasement was an accepted diplomatic tactic, probably neither more nor less successful than many another. And was Munich really appeasement? I do not think so. Appeasement is, properly speaking, nothing more than the easing of tensions through a negotiated compromise. What happened at Munich—Mr. Taylor to the contrary—was the surrender of principle. That was not appeasement, for it neither settled differences nor eased tensions. Furthermore, it is doubtful if appeasement would have worked with Hitler because, Mr. Taylor again to the contrary, Hitler was not a traditional statesman, German or otherwise. He was something new in history, the totalitarian statesman, and as such he differed from authoritarian dictators like Mussolini or Franco, and from those less easily defined figures like Prince Konoye and his successors in Japan.

AT THE SAME time it must be noted that Mr. Taylor thinks of World War II primarily as a war between Britain and France and Germany. In this he does no more than follow most of those who have written on this subject. But is this accurate? It ignores a basic fact: when on 3 September 1939 Britain and France declared war, they declared it against Germany alone. If Chamberlain's policy can be said to have had any justification at all, it is that at this point Japan and Italy remained neutral, despite their commitments to Berlin. And their neutrality was particularly valuable.

This was in part due to Italian military weakness, but was also in part the fruition of Chamberlain's Mediterranean policy. It was due in part to Japanese disenchantment with her Nazi partner after the Russo-German pact, but also to the British policy of treating Japan carefully to keep her from joining forces with Germany in a military alliance against the West. Chamberlain's methods are open to serious question. He acquiesced in the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, in Italian intervention in Spain and, if Ciano's *Diaries* can be believed, he combined with the Italian Ambassador in London to discredit Foreign Secretary Eden and force his resignation. His government held back on aid to China and did little to prevent Japan from overrunning that country.

But it must be remembered that here, as in Europe, the United States did little to encourage a firmer stand. Italy and Japan went to war in the end because France collapsed. This was what the Allied strategic planners apparently had not foreseen. After a campaign of barely two months, Paris surrendered and Britain was alone. Italy advanced into Savoy and Japan into Indochina. The defenders of Munich have often claimed since (as M. Bonnet has recently in the New York *Times*) that it bought the West an extra year to rearm.

This may be true, but it is also arguable that the price paid was far too great, both morally and strategically. The far less publicized agreements with Italy and Japan bought time which, in retrospect, seems even more valuable. They meant that until June 1940 Britain did not have to contest her control of the Mediterranean with the Italian Fleet, while in the Far East Japan remained neutral while the Battle of Britain was fought. When she entered the war, she brought in the U.S., and the U.S.S.R. was already involved.

THERE ARE obvious parallels to be drawn between the 1930's and the 1960's: but what follows from this? There is much that we could learn from an unemotional and detached study of the recent past, and of all our mistakes then, American, as well as British and French. It is doubtful if Mr. Taylor's work will help put things into proper perspective. But he is right in telling us that we have to make the effort. We must remember (to paraphrase Thucydides) that while the present may resemble the past, it does not necessarily reflect it. We cannot take the solutions, or the battle cries, of a quarter century ago and apply them to the present. Today we are dealing with two more totalitarian statesmen, Khrushchev and Mao, and again we must be careful not to confuse appeasement with surrender.

But we must be careful also not to confuse surrender with appeasement. We cannot let the ghost of Neville Chamberlain prevent us from negotiating our differences as far as possible. The President has done well to warn us that Berlin may bring a peace without victory—for either side. Nor can we afford to cry appeasement when the Government tries to deal with those whom we may not like. Can men like Nkrumah, Touré, perhaps even Tito and Castro be dealt with without a loss of principle? Can they become, with our aid, neutrals—real neutrals, not Belgrade neutrals? History has its lessons, but they are hardly ever easy and hardly ever obvious. Mr. Taylor's virtue is not that he is right, for he is often far off the mark, but that he makes us think.

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"The Real Revolt on Campus"

Williamsburg, Va.

TO THE EDITORS: I am writing to you on the assumption that you seek in your magazine to present things as they actually are—in other words, to be fair and objective in your reporting, and independent in your commentary. The article by Mr. Jack Newfield (Dec. 15) concerning what he terms "The Real Revolt on the Campus" (an allusion to the book by *Indianapolis News* editor M. Stanton Evans), is erroneous. He may have witnessed the student meeting in Wisconsin, and he may have spoken with assorted freedom riders, but his inference that the "revolt" on the campus today is a liberal or "left" one is just not true.

In clear errors of fact he intimates that the new student journals of vitality are "liberal" ones. He forgets *Insight* and *Outlook* published at the University of Wisconsin, *The New Individualist Review* of the University of Chicago, *Analysis* at the University of Pennsylvania, *Conservative Thunder* at Wayne University, *The Campus Conservative* at the University of Virginia, and a number of others. Mr. Newfield may like to think, and The Commonweal may like to think along with him, that the sit-ins and the peace pickets represent the body of student opinion today. That is not true. Most students are rebelling against the dogmatic and often meaningless liberalism they find in the classroom, and more and more college newspaper editors and student leaders are actively championing the conservative philosophy. You cannot ignore it and hope that it will go away, because it will not.

And the conservative trend is an intellectual one, not based as Mr. Newfield slyly implies on a hatred of Eleanor Roosevelt, who is essentially beside the point. The young conservatives are reading, and writing, while Mr. Newfield's liberals are picketing and sitting in. They are picketing for a "sane" nuclear policy, yet the young conservatives can think of nothing saner than standing up to an enemy who has declared war. "Organized cowardice" is a familiar term used in derision of the organizations which would impair our national strength and security.

Get out of New York, Mr. Newfield. Visit the campuses in the South, the Mid-West and the Ivy League. Talk to the students who are in leadership positions, and find out if they are in favor of sit-ins, and a unilateral cessation of nuclear testing. Liberals are in an ivory tower if they believe the conservative revival is either doomed to failure, or is un-intellectual. It is not a return to the 19th century, as Mr. Newfield slipped in, but it may be a return to meaningful values, and a sense of national purpose.

You may not like this letter, but think about it. I am convinced that most of it, more or less, is true.

ALLAN C. BROWNFELD

The Author Replies

New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: Mr. Brownfeld only underlines my central thesis when he writes: "The young conservatives are reading, and writing, while Mr. Newfield's liberals are picketing and sitting in." I think the essential difference between the new radicals and new conservatives is a matter of a meaningful relationship to the political realities of mid-twentieth century America. Because they are fixed in a less complex epoch, the Young Americans for Freedom do not participate in, or relate to, the decisive political dramas of our time—the cold war and the desegregation of the South—in any positive fashion. They read about individual liberty in the abstract, while in Albany, Georgia, hundreds of high school and college students are arrested for challenging segregation.

When the young conservatives do enter the political arena the result is seldom inspiring. On October 28, a SANE picket of two thousand in front of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations was in turn picketed by a band of twenty-five members of the Y.A.F., whose passion was directed at the SANE marchers rather than the Soviet mission. The gulf between Y.A.F. and contemporary political reality, I think, nullifies their undeniable healthy membership roll and even healthier bankroll.

I agree with Mr. Brownfeld that "Most students are rebelling against the dogmatic and often meaningless liberalism they find in the classroom." I do not believe these students are retreating to an escapist conservative doctrine, but moving beyond the contradictions and compromises of liberalism, to Gandhi's theories of love and non-violence, to Thoreau's concepts of civil disobedience and the withdrawal of support from evil, and to a democratic ethic that judges Chiang as harshly as Castro.

Despite considerable research, nowhere did I find an intellectual tenacity or agility among the new conservatives that could reflect the skills of their mentors Buckley, Kirk *et al.* In *Analysis*, for example, I found the

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following sentence, which continues to puzzle me: "There was a time when every man was free in every sense of the word." And last month, at a public meeting in New York, Ed Nash, the unsuccessful Y.A.F. candidate for the City Council, made the following statements: "The only difference between Socialists and Communists is that Socialists don't use guns." And, "The Negroes in Mississippi should write to their congressman instead of burning buses."

I did not say there were no conservatives on campus. I did refute the myth of a mass conservative movement and said that the conservatives seem to be politically impotent—they go on boat rides to Newburgh while the radicals go on Freedom Rides to Jackson. I also said the vital and dynamic forces on campus were the civil rights and peace movements. The Y.A.F.'s bankruptcy can best be measured by its hostility to those two movements.

JACK NEWFIELD

THE STAGE

A Note on Ennoblement

TIME magazine recently had its say about the Theater of the Absurd. The playwrights of the absurdist school, *Time's* nameless writer said, after bestowing some faint left-handed praise (the key honorific was "theatricality" —a word used by critics who may not either enjoy nor understand but are aware that something lively is going on), are ultimately failures because they do not do what playwrights are supposed to do. That is to say, they fail technically because they disobey the laws of drama and morally because they do not "ennoble" us.

There isn't much one can say about the first part of the indictment, except that the charge has been made against every original dramatist since the theater began (its counterpart having perennially been used to try to put down new movements in all the other arts) and that people who insist on plays obeying the "laws of drama" are hopelessly unable to tell true drama when it appears. Actually, it isn't too much to claim that every significant play, as every significant painting, poem or piece of music, breaks "laws" as an essential aspect of its creation. But of course what it is breaking are not laws at all, but precedents.

The second accusation, that of the failure to ennoble man, is more difficult to combat, though no less pitiful a revelation of the bourgeois mind: in Berdyaev's sense, a mind encased in rules and materiality, with a skin of radical sentimentality. For what are we to say to people who crave *to be* ennobled, by art or anything else? Did the Greeks attend their tragedies in order to have nobility served up, for reassurance? Or did they attend as participants in a celebration and ritual unfolding of an action which was noble *in itself*, and precisely because it dealt courageously with ignoble matters, painful matters, terrifying and shameful ones?

What the anonymous *Time* writer and the millions he presumably speaks for really want is to be told that man is good, wise, enduring, loving, reliable, predictable, profound, clean and dignified, above all dignified. As though Oedipus was dignified, with his bloody eye-sockets and his hideous memories!

What gives the show away is the kind of response to Beckett, Genet, Ionesco, *et al*, that *Time* and the uplift-seeking playgoer make: But you're taking man into the slime, you're shattering the image we've had of his cleanliness (the dirty-faced angel!), rationality (irrational, too, a little, but that's charming), consistency (sporadic failures but always back on the road), and spirituality (can't you cry "Lord, Lord" like the rest of us?).

"Positively abominable play . . . infecting the modern theater with poison . . . a dirty act done publicly . . . Offensive cynicism . . . Melancholy and malodorous world . . . Mass of vulgarity, egotism, coarseness and absurdity . . . Unutterably offensive . . . Scandalous . . . Revoltingly suggestive and blasphemous . . . Morbid, unhealthy, unwholesome and disgusting . . . A piece to bring the stage into disrepute and dishonor . . . A wicked nightmare . . . As foul and filthy a concoction as has ever been allowed to disgrace the boards. . . ."

"The Balcony?" "Happy Days?" "The Connection?" No, "Ghosts," after its first London production in 1891. Doubtless a similar compilation could be made from the Paris newspapers of 1830, after Hugo's "Hernani," or of 1896, when "Ubu Roi" made its devastating appearance. " 'Indecent' is too often a synonym for human," Mauriac has written; and the history of efforts to make the stage more human, to sweep away the platitudes, frozen responses and lifeless gestures of a theater bent on repetition and the maintenance of self-satisfaction, is that of a series of outcries, predictable, instinctive, filled with that inverted shame and strange violence we see in men whose illusions have been threatened.

And always the chief illusion is that things are basically well, that the beast has been tamed and man is in the saddle, that we get what we deserve and deserve what we get, that reverses are reversible, that we understand (although better by and by), that virtue triumphs and love conquers all. But we're not sure, so tell us again.

A child being comforted against the dark. But it happens that we are right to be frightened of that darkness. Contemporary man has known almost no light at all, and if contemporary man, like man of any other era, is noble, it is to the extent to which he faces the darkness, moves into it and keeps his eyes open. And this is true whether he is a religious man or not. What is true in any case is that if we are noble we do not need to be

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told about it, and if we aren't we cannot be made so by being told about it.

But of course the bourgeois theater, the theater of *Theater Arts, Time* and Marya Mannes, the *serious* bourgeois theater as distinct from all that crass commercialism, is not really interested in ennoblement, but in optimism. When Miss Mannes scolds Tennessee Williams for his sordidness, or when Howard Taubman hopes that Genet will some day write about blacks and whites who love one another, we are in the presence of those old balloons filled with the gas of middle-class propositions about life.

It simply can't be that difficult, irrational, bloody and opaque (it can't be that funny, either!). We have a vision of existence as moderately difficult, moderately irrational, moderately bloody and moderately opaque: we see, we see, oh noble crown of moderate apotheosis set on man's deserving brow, we see . . . "Gideon!"

One more word. If optimism is what's wanted (the modern equivalent of faith and hope), there's a chance that the playwrights of the absurd can give us better grounds for entertaining it than Paddy or Archibald. That is, if we can accept the notion that there is something encouraging in looking into the abyss and not flinching. If we can, then Beckett's tramps waiting in intolerable anguish are encouraging and so are the words of Bérenger at the end of Ionesco's "The Killer": "Oh God! There's nothing we can do. What can we do . . . What can we do. . . ." The fact that there is no question mark is exactly why it is so encouraging: the statement, summing up and crystallizing the entire astonishing and valorous play, tells us what our condition is. The nobility may or may not follow.

RICHARD GILMAN

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(Excerpt from a missionary's letter)

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THE SCREEN

Evil Is As Evil Does

WHEN in 1955 I saw "Diabolique," a French mystery-thriller made doubly frightening by Henri-Georges Clouzot's superb direction, I immediately nominated Clouzot to direct *The Turn of the Screw*, in case the movie people ever decided to tackle Henry James's scary tale. No one paid any attention, of course; and now this spine-tingling story has been made into a movie, directed not by French Clouzot but by English Jack Clayton. We have no way of knowing if Clouzot could have done any better, but in any case Clayton, who showed in "Room at the Top" that he knew a thing or two about evil and how to employ suspenseful cinema, has made a film with plenty of thrills and class.

Because the famous ghost story has almost as many interpretations as it has had readers since it first appeared in 1898, this version isn't likely to please all James enthusiasts. Some insist that the governess, sent to take charge of two young orphans on an English country estate owned by their uncle, is a sex-starved spinster imagining the sinister ghosts and all the evil goings-on. Some insist that though the governess is neurotic, the ghosts are real and she is actually trying to save the children from them. And among the many other explanations of the governess-children-ghosts triangle are those concerned with the dire symbols of evil corruption.

"The Innocents," which gets its name from the stage version written by William Archibald (who collaborated with Truman Capote on the screenplay), tries to include several of these interpretations. It is a well-written, literate script, and the movie which producer-director Jack Clayton made from it is extraordinarily handsome, with some stunning black-and-white photography of Bly House and gardens where the malefic action takes place, and with a fine cast who succeed admirably in scaring the audience out of its wits.

Master Martin Stephens and little Miss Pamela Frank-

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lin look like angelic darlings at first, but later, when the governess gets wise to the game they are playing with her, they take on a demonic quality, with sinister suggestions far beyond their years. As the housekeeper, Megs Jenkins is properly wholesome and stolid—and perplexed about the children and governess. In the key role as the governess, Deborah Kerr gives a first-rate performance—starting out sweetly (as if she were Anna again, determined to bring culture to Siam), then growing rightfully concerned over her charges and the two uninvited ghostly figures that keep turning up, then becoming hysterical and occasionally fierce in her anxiety to save the children from further corruption by the wicked spirits. Purists devoted to the intangible horrors in James's story may object to the vivid visualization of these menacing figures and to the sound track that leaves no doubt as to how they are trying to influence the children; however, audiences unconcerned with James and wanting a thoughtful thriller to make their blood run cold will find it in "The Innocents"—a director's picture, if there ever was one.

DIRECTOR Roger Vadim, who is best known for his racy films that brought Brigitte Bardot to the screen, has also made a chilling study of evil. Perhaps "Les Liaisons Dangereuses" would have come and gone like any other mediocre French movie if it hadn't got such wild advance publicity. The stories go that France was reluctant to let it be exported and that Vadim himself admitted that there were a few erotic shots in the film but insisted that not one frame be cut. "I am against censorship. American audiences will either see all of my ex-wife (Annette Stroyberg Vadim) or not at all." Well, they can see all of her—as well as almost all of Jeanne Valerie, another victim of Gerard Philipe's carefully calculated seductions.

The story itself is an unappetizing affair, mainly concerned with a husband-and-wife team (Gerard Philipe, Jeanne Moreau) who allow each other complete sexual freedom and particularly seem to enjoy corrupting the chaste. In a way, they are similar to the ghosts in "The Innocents," but director Vadim, not satisfied like James with the power of suggestion and psychological effect, goes in for scene after scene of intimate detail.

Vadim's greatest mistake, other than having made the picture at all, was in up-dating the story which stems from Choderlos de Laclos's 1782 novel about immorality in eighteenth-century society. No doubt our society, as "La Dolce Vita" made clear, is often just as immoral, but this coldly-scheming couple who plan their seductions like players at a chess game seem rather silly in the 1960's. And the tacked-on crime-does-not-pay ending is too obviously phony.

Although the film has some handsome sets and photography, most of the acting throughout is uninspired, as if the cast were quite cool toward the project and didn't like the smell of it. In its conclusions concerning the vileness of depravity, "Les Liaisons" is no doubt quite moral. But it is in its explicit illustrations along the way that the film steps out of bounds.

ANOTHER disappointing French film is "La Belle Americaine," which starts out as a giddy comedy in the manner of Jacques Tati whose satires on modern living are hilarious. This movie's title refers to an elegant Cadillac which, through a fluke, our hero buys for a song, only to discover that this status symbol of American grandeur soon becomes a pain in the neck.

Since Robert Dhery directed, co-authored and starred in the picture, he must be credited for both its virtues and faults. At times the jokes, slapstick and attitudes are a delight, but director Dhery allows some of the scenes to run too long, and the joke peters out before the laugh. The whole comedy is too long, and the story of the troublesome car wears thin. But moviegoers who just can't wait until the next Tati gem turns up will get enough fun out of "La Belle Americaine" to take a joy ride with Dhery.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

The Death of Dylan Thomas

A rose-thorn scratched his eye—
And he died.

There was a red smoke in the air—all across
The sky as though the sun
Were setting everywhere
North and south and west and east—

And his hands looked crimson to him
like a hawk's claws—brilliance
gripping the soft white mole of peace.

The part of his heart
That sang his soul
Remarked the wound of glory
Flooding Wales,
The blurred petals unfolding—
Thorn and tears and light
And all the world an open rose.
But the frail half of his heart
The other part that was
A little clock of dust
Grew afraid of the scarlet tint of time
And the flames of salt
That were delight
But only to the blind.

A rose-thorn scratched his eye—
And he died.

KATHARINE JO PRIVETT

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A Modern Composer Lectures on Art

Silence. By John Cage. Wesleyan University Press. $5.75.

by Bette Richart

LONG AGO, in Alcazar, I knew a young man who had composed a piano piece called "Gertrude Stein in a Freight Yard." It was played with fists, fingers and elbows, sounded different every time, depending upon the performer's élan or inertia, and of course destroyed the pianos of our youth. Nevertheless, if it was a shatterer of silences, it was a little more than noise. Its spirit was free without laboring too consciously to be so, and it expressed our plausible longing to give meaning to chaos without changing its essence by imposing upon it a superstructure of formality. Form is another thing, but it is formality Mr. Cage is ridiculing, as we were; form with all its problems was beyond our reach, but we recognized its substitutes as phony, and it was all right, I think, to be vocal about that revelation.

John Cage is also a composer, one quite equal to the problems of his "sullen art," but he is alive to give point to the difference between the traditional and the merely ossified. He is in fact a necessary therapy, and since it is his book and not his music that we are discussing here, unqualified alleluias are in order, for it is an enchanting book.

After Cummings, Stein, some of Eliot, and the birth and death of all the little mags—"no matter where I go I'll always see their little faces looking up at me"—one shouldn't have to apologize for typography, but I must warn you not to be put off by eccentricity in that field, as I was till I began to see what Cage was doing. In the lecture "Where Are We Going? And What Are We Doing?" I started to see, as well as hear, the structure of the fugue; since I am a dedicated non-musician, the achievement is Mr. Cage's—and the printer's.

He is as nearly a Zen Buddhist as the West can produce under the spell of Dr. Suzuki, who is easy enough to love, whatever our faiths and skepticisms. That seeming irreverence often conceals the truest reverence is no new lesson (the jongleur of Our Lady taught it well enough), but it is somehow an appealing one; with Cage, we love the Japanese monk who, describing his attainment, said, "Now that I'm enlightened, I'm just as miserable as ever."

Cage is a raconteur of the first order. One story he mentions again and again: the sound chamber which magnified the high tones of his nervous system, the low tones of his circulatory system. These sounds, so intimately important, are part of what he means by "silence"—a word he uses to include all sounds that are not "part of a musical intention." As he says, the world is teeming with them. It may be a long time before many people share his conclusion that "electrically controlled sound is music," but the principle of control is never absent from his considerations, and "the principle of form," he says, "will be our only constant connection with the past."

These lectures, given "not to surprise people, but out of a need for poetry," make the intent of modern art, or really contemporary art, very clear. From metal sculpture to Cage's own work, there is a common purpose: it is not to illuminate the darkness (a platitude which infuriates Mr. Cage) but to partake of darkness—after all, it is light enough, in Christian as well as in other mysticisms. "If there were a part of life dark enough to keep out of it a light from art, I would want to be in that darkness, fumbling around if necessary, but alive." If St. John of the Cross had had any aesthetic concerns, he might have said the same thing. It is a nearly flawless statement of the intense but helpless awareness that links artist and saint so intimately, in a world where awareness doesn't count. Awareness of what? Mortal as well as immortal beauty—a word that John Cage uses quite unself-consciously. "Beware of that which is breath-takingly beautiful, for at any moment the telephone may ring."

In the famous lectures on Nothing and Something (the typography, in both instances, is a topography!), the problem of form is analyzed in a way that no one since Suzanne Langer has attempted. "Structure without life is dead," is a familiar conviction, though an important one. See what comes next, however: "But life without structure is unseen." Life without art is unseen; the thought of life without form is obscene, as if the bust of Homer in that marvel of Rembrandt's were suddenly to become a jelly-fish before one's very eyes. "Form is what interests everyone and fortunately it is wherever you are and there is no place where it isn't. Highest truth, that is."

One other interest which is reasonably universal is love, and naturally Mr. Cage has something to say about that too. "I remember loving sound before I ever took a music lesson. And so we make our lives by what we love." Perhaps form is the ultimate evidence of man's love of his work: in the curious cavern of time, some Leonardo invented the wheel, before a statue could even be dreamed of. I have always imagined him standing for a moment, alone with his isolating genius, admiring the beauty of that shape before starting it off on its journey down history. During such a moment of contemplation, a man shines with utter giving, and despite his buffoonery, it is in such a light that I see Mr. Cage.

In one of his really ineffable anecdotes, he tells of attending a concert of a friend's music; in the program notes the friend had written something about too much pain in the world. Afterwards, Cage protested. "Why, don't you think there's enough?" the friend irritably said. "I think there's just the right amount," replied our jongleur, and indeed it seems enough to say.

Is form the union, then, of love and pain in work? This is sanity at least, if not genius, and we seem to have fewer sane people than geniuses around us. It may be perverse of me, but Mr. Cage, I think, will be the only sane man left when the fall-out

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gets us. As for him, he has a built-in immunity.

It is a temptation to quote him indefinitely; one final one: "For somethings one needs critics, connoisseurs, judgments—authoritative ones: otherwise one gets gypped." Now who in the trade could resist that!

Bitter Harvest

The Harvesters. By Louisa R. Shotwell. Doubleday. $3.95.

by John Stanley

HERE IS a fine book, which should have been unnecessary. It is another piece of superfluous evidence to pour over saturated minds. For surely the minds of this generation have been saturated with the knowledge of injustice. All my life I've seen pictures of and read about the exploited and the tortured and the dispossessed. So has everyone else. It's been very carefully recorded. But, here we go again with Miss Shotwell:

"The migrant works in a labor market that . . . . can only be described as chaotic. He is a necessary cog in an agricultural machine that differs from the traditional family farm in just about the same degree the . . . . village blacksmith differs from a General Motors (plant) . . . . little or no education . . . unorganized and inarticulate . . . (without) indigenous leadership . . . If the cotton he picks is deliberately weighed short he has no legal recourse. The protections of the Fair Labor Standards Act do not apply to him . . . ."

The children, you will recall, are brought up in the back seats of old jalopies, without schooling, medical care or playtime; just work and bad teeth and the deep knowledge that they're despised, and fit only to be used, and that they'll cease to be used when they are no longer needed—when machinery is perfected that will do the job cheaper and better.

In 1909 the first national conference on migrant problems was held in Washington. And these conferences have been held ever since; they'll be held again and again. And the same facts—more or less—are presented and gravely recorded. You'd think the thing was some rare intellectual problem like the immanence of God, something that had to be endlessly wrestled with and pondered over.

Not too long ago Murray Kempton and William F. Buckley, Jr., had a debate on TV in which at the very end by way of summation Kempton said something like, "Bill, you just don't want those who don't have to have." And Buckley, I'm told, replied, "Oh, Murray, don't be so thirtyish."

About the thirties it can be said that, among many things, the New Deal was a gesture. A few things were done for a few people. But, in retrospect, that time is beginning to look like Eden. You'd go to the movies and there in the newsreel you'd see the President visiting a C.C.C. camp in Colorado, or Mrs. Roosevelt coming up out of a coal mine in West Virginia. Things like that. Anyhow, a few camps for migrants were set up in those days. Miss Shotwell again:

"In the middle 1930's the Farm Security Administration began the construction and operation of a series of model farm-labor camps. The common pattern provided rows of one room wooden or metal shelters; central toilets, showers and laundry; a clinic, a resident nurse and visiting physicians; a child care center; a school; a community house and outdoor recreational facilities. Most revolutionary was the philosophy on which the camps were managed; an elected camp council represented the migrant people in dealing with the camp manager and handling problems of order within the camp. These camps were located in widely separated areas of the country . . . [but] there never were enough of them to serve more than a fragment—certainly no more than a tenth—of the migrant population; but they did demonstrate what [might be done] . . . given the will, the imagination, and the resources.

"The program survived grower opposition . . . but . . . not the Eightieth Congress. In the late 1940's all the camps were liquidated or sold, to come under private jurisdiction and . . . the sanitation standards, the clinics, the schools, and recreational

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facilities went out the window along with the concept of the self-governing camp council."

No comment. Well, one comment. Read the Fifth Chapter of St. James.

Miss Shotwell is with the Home Missions of the National Council of Churches. And here I have to make an embarrassingly sectarian, niggling point: In her section "Friends of the Harvesters" there is just one chapter and it is called "The Migrant Ministry." In it one reads only of the good work being done by Protestant groups; and I think it mars, if slightly, the generous spirit of this good work; I think it was imprudent not to have mentioned here that there are Catholic groups working as friends of these people, too—if only to prevent someone like me from picking her up on it. It vexes me to have to mention it.

But, ultimately, it's not important who gets credit for what. It is important that in some thousand-acre field a nine-year-old girl is picking string beans, and has been for seven hours; she has skinny legs and sad eyes and traces of the beginnings of stunting of the spirit. Reading this book I've become emotionally involved with her. But tomorrow I'll get involved in another book while she'll still be picking string beans. And I think it's not going out on a limb to make this prediction: She'll keep on picking them until it's no longer profitable for someone to have her do so. Then she'll be given a job in a box factory.

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Education Today

The Future of Education. By Thomas Molnar. (Foreword by Russell Kirk.) Fleet. $3.95.

by John McDermott

UNQUESTIONABLY, American educational theory and practice are in constant need of critical analysis and revaluation. It is unfortunate that this book makes little contribution to such a critique.

Although this is a small book, Mr. Molnar attempts simultaneously to analyze education on all its levels of endeavor. He does not, however, seem to be familiar with the problems peculiar to either elementary or secondary schools. What is more, he feels certain that he can discuss both American and Western European education because "Western civilization presents a unified, continuous landscape; it is hard to detect where its diseases start, nor can the diseased spot be quarantined." He also contends that "many obvious differences between the United States and Western Europe tend to disappear."

However it may be with European education (and one suspects that Mr. Molnar could have written a far superior work had he restricted himself to that topic), American education has to be understood within the framework of indigenous political and sociological realities. Either Mr. Molnar is ignorant of these elements or he badly underplays them. He makes no reference to Oscar Handlin's attempt to set the development of American education within its historical framework or even to Lawrence Cremins' recent critical history of progressivism in American education.

The type of source material Mr. Molnar does use belies the seriousness of his attempt, characterized as it is by anecdotes and citations from educational materials representing what is most eccentric and inadequate in American education. It apparently does not occur to Mr. Molnar that such material can easily be matched by advocates of the opposite camp and hardly does justice to the level of inquiry necessary for a study of this kind.

After discussing the problem of excellence and the relationship of school and society, Mr. Molnar reaches the philosophical dimension of his work in a section entitled "Permanence and Change." Certainly one would expect here a close analysis of the serious question of values and historical process; but instead the author merely wheels out all the "dirty words" (pragmatist, Deweyan naturalism, materialism, positivism), the use of which is ordinarily characteristic only of amateur philosophers and lovers of philosophical pigeon-holes. Without any examination of the thinkers involved, and without even reference to the more important literature extant, Mr. Molnar contends that the "naturalists" are supported by the "positivists" in the contemporary attack on the liberal arts.

This contention, of course, flies in the face of the well known antagonism between the thought of the positivists and that of Dewey and American naturalism. Not only does Mr. Molnar seem unaware of such blunders, but he also does not in any way confront the real philosoph-

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ical question at the center of the problem of change. Besides neglecting the problem of values and history, he avoids the metaphysical implications that modern science has for the classical tradition. And there is not a word about the distinguished "philosophy of change" found in Whitehead, coupled as it is with a far deeper awareness of the classical tradition than anything this book offers.

In his last chapter, on "The Future of Education," Mr. Molnar discusses what "the most serious thinkers of our time" agree on as necessary to the restoration of learning. First, the school must be seen as an artificial society; second, all teaching in its initial phases must adopt some form of the Socratic method (which for Mr. Molnar is peculiarly colored by his agreement with one particular view of Socrates that he "knew the truth: he merely wanted his interlocutor to see it too"); third, the proper concern of a restoration of education is the study of our Western cultural heritage, and following Pieper, an affirmation of the "totality of existence."

The first premise is open to question, for in America most artificial societies are barren. The second idea, given Mr. Molnar's view of Socrates, is the opposite of true Socratism and raises some difficulties relative to its place in the development of inquiry. The third notion is certainly significant, although Mr. Molnar ignores the relevant past in his own critique of American education. Furthermore, anyone rooted in the tradition of Emerson and Whitman hardly finds it necessary to read Josef Pieper in order to affirm the "totality of existence."

Some may argue that the intent of this book is simply a popular exposition of the state of contemporary education and that it has to be evaluated as such. Nevertheless, even popular expositions are valid only if they are a function of insight. When the insight is a function of the popularity, then we have propaganda. Such is the character of Mr. Molnar's work on education, and it should not pass unchallenged, for as John Dewey wrote, "nothing but the best, the richest and fullest experience possible, is good enough for man. The attainment of such an experience is not to be conceived as the specific problem of 'reformers' but as the common purpose of men."

REVIEWERS

Bette Richart, a poet and critic, is a frequent contributor to The Commonweal and other magazines.

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